

The Zagreb Horseshoe Park

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Introduction¹

THE HORSESHOE PARK, or *Lenuci's Horseshoe Park*, is the common name for a sequence of seven squares and one garden that frame the centre of Lower Town—the historic core of the Zagreb center dating from the late 19th century. Today these are Nikola Šubić Zrinski Square—Zrinjevac Square,² Josip Juraj Strossmayer Square (previously Academy Square),³ The King Tomislav Square (previously King Francis Joseph I. Square),⁴ Ante Starčević Square (previously South Park),⁵ The Botanical Garden; Marko Marulić Square (previously part of West Park),⁶ Mažuranić Square⁷ (previously part of West Park); and Marshal Tito Square—the Theatre Square (before University Square) (Fig. 1).⁸

The layout of the Horseshoe Park was concurrent with the building of Lower Town. Much like the Viennese Ringstrasse, the sequence of parks in the shape of a letter U or as a horseshoe is a representative part of Zagreb and greatly defines the city's urban identity. The Horseshoe Park is a monument to urban planning, architecture and landscape architecture of late 19th and early 20th centuries. The urban definition and execution of the concept is owed primarily to the then main municipal engineer Milan Lenuci, after whom the sequence of squares was popularly named Lenuci's Horseshoe.

Public parks in Zagreb and Croatia have a long tradition. The Lenuci Horseshoe was inspired on the one hand by the layout of the Ringstrasse in Vienna, and on the other it was a continuation of an idea of public parks and promenades built in Zagreb since the late 18th century.

Landscape Tradition in Zagreb Preceding the Formation of the Horseshoe Park

Zagreb in the Second Half of the 18th Century

At the end of the 18th century, Zagreb was a small and modest town, spreading little over its medieval limits. Its population engaged primarily in commerce and crafts. It was inhabited by citizens, nobility, and a considerable number of the clergy. The social status of the population was humble,

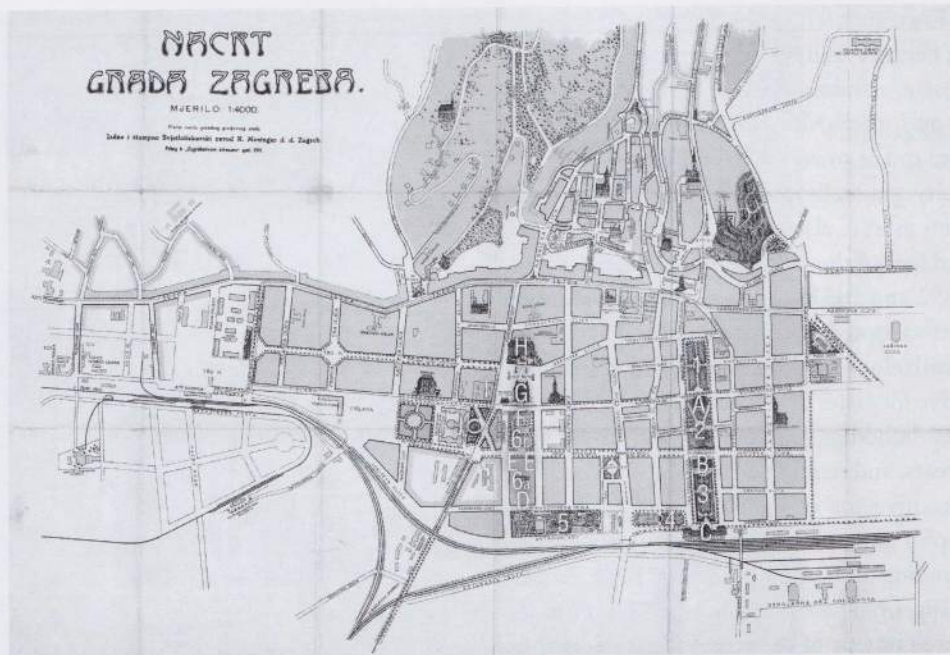
owing to a century and a half of conflicts and wars against the Turks.⁹ In such a social-political situation, in 1787 work began on a park envisioned for citizens of Zagreb. It was initiated by the Zagreb bishop of the time, Maximilijan Vrhovec,¹⁰ who decided to build a leisure and recreational park for the citizens of Zagreb on the place of the old bishop's forest. The park was later named in his honour—Maksimir (Maximilian's Peace). It is the greatest and most significant park in Croatia, one of the symbols of Zagreb. It is also relevant in the European context for the following reasons: first, it is one of the first newly built public parks in Europe (begun in 1787, finished in 1847); second, it has a large surface (around 400 hectares; in 1846 Zagreb had only 15 000 inhabitants); third, it has artistic value, as corroborated by its authors, who also redesigned the Imperial Park in Laxenburg near Vienna.¹¹

The owner of the plot of land on which Maksimir Park was built was the Zagreb diocese. The plot contained vast oak and hornbeam forests to the east of the town. 400 hectares of it were intended for the public city park (half of the surface of Boulogne in Paris and almost double the size of Regent's Park, London), an enormous surface for Zagreb of that period.

Zagreb in the First Half of the 19th Century

At the time of its conception (late 18th century), as at the time of its completion (mid-19th century), no urban plans or laws defining the layout and building of property existed: the communal infrastructure was undeveloped, and the urban development of the city was slow. Zagreb kept its medieval dual urban structure (bourgeois Gradec and episcopal Kaptol) until the middle of the 19th century, when organized development of the town was introduced.

In the first half of the 19th century, the influence of the Central European Biedermeier cultural tradition was very strong. In Zagreb at the time many private gardens belonging to villas on the hills north of the town were carried out.¹² At the foot of the Cathedral walls and the episcopal town a



1 Plan of Zagreb, 1911 (source: Zagreb City Museum)

- (1) Nikola Šubić Zrinski Square—Zrinjevac Square
- (2) Academy Square (today Josip Juraj Strossmayer Square)
- (3) King Tomislav Square (previously King Francis Joseph I. Square)
- (4) South Park (today Ante Starčević Square)
- (5) The Botanical Garden
- (6) West Park (today Marko Marulić Square [6a] and Mažuranić Square [6b])
- (7) University Square—the Theater Square (today

Marshal Tito Square)

- A. The Academy of Sciences and Arts
- B. the Art Pavilion
- C. the railway station
- D. the University Library
- E. University institutes
- F. today Academy of Dramatic Arts
- G. the Neo-Baroque theater
- H. the University
- I. today Museum of Arts and Crafts
- J. today Museum Mimara

Romantic bishops' park was created (author Leopold Kling-spögl).¹³ Two promenades, the South Promenade (today Strossmayer Promenade) and North Promenade (today Vraz Promenade), were carried out on Medieval-Renaissance walls of the civilian town of Gradec.¹⁴ In the late 19th century, two more promenades were built on the town's outskirts of the time—Avenue (from the railway station to the town center) and *Josipovac and Sophie's path* on Tuškanac.¹⁵

The Horseshoe Park

Social-political and Urban Conditions in Zagreb in the Second Half of the 19th Century—A Framework for the Formation of the Horseshoe Park

Intensive urban and architectural development of Zagreb followed in the second half of the 19th century, after the completion of the great Maksimir Park. King Franz Joseph I greatly contributed to its development with his decision to unite Gradec and Kaptol with their surrounding settle-

ments and villages into the single city of Zagreb. The population of Zagreb grew steadily in the second half of the 19th century—from 18,000 inhabitants in 1857 to 60,000 in 1900. The first significant industrial companies and larger banks and savings emerged around 1870. The tradition of Crafts was very pronounced. Zagreb received a water supply system in 1878, a horse-car was introduced in 1891, and the electrical tramway in 1910. The Academy of Sciences and Arts was founded in 1866, the University in 1874, and the new theater was opened in 1895. In 1910 Zagreb had over one hundred industrial firms and over one hundred thousand inhabitants.

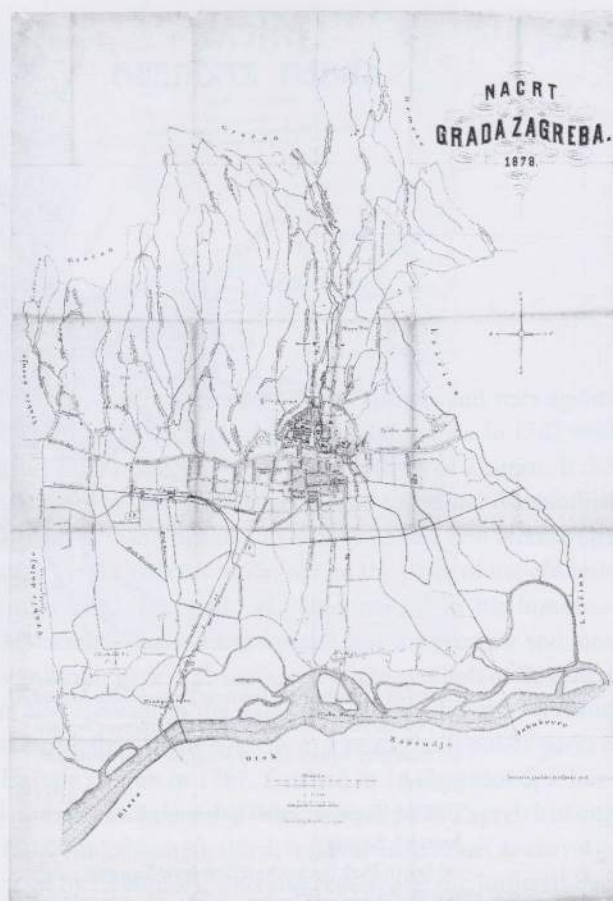
Numerous political and social conditions resulted in Zagreb remaining a provincial town almost until the end of the 19th century. In the daily papers from 1870 onward, articles advocating the need to make an urban design of Zagreb, as had been done in Vienna and Budapest, appeared with growing regularity (Croatia was then part of the Austrian-Hungarian Monarchy).

The Lower Town area, where the Zagreb of the second half of the 19th century and several new squares would emerge, was mostly privately owned. It was covered in fields, gardens, and orchards. Property owners rarely donated their land to the town for the building of key city buildings. The city gradually purchased the land. A few cases of expropriation were also registered.

In the second half of the 19th century several Regulation Bases (in 1852 and 1857) and the first general urban plan of Zagreb were adopted, which gave the city its orthogonal layout and introduced a division into city blocks. An additional incentive for faster development of Zagreb came in 1852, when new buildings were exempted from taxation in their first ten years, and remodeled buildings in their first six years. An incentive for embellishing the town came when Franz Joseph I announced his visit to Zagreb which prompted the founding of the Committee for Town Embellishment, which approved new building based on proposed projects. The development of the city was accelerated by the introduction of the railroad to Zagreb in 1862. Faster and more wholesome building ensued after 1880, when a great earthquake struck the city.

Zagreb began to adopt a regular layout after the Regulation Basis was passed in 1857. The regulation laid the foundations of Zagreb's appearance in the second half of the 19th century. It introduced a regular street grid, with crossroads at right angles. The first Zagreb development plan was made in 1864–1865. Aiming to retouch older parts of the city, planned new construction was intended to be a harmonious continuation of these older areas. The proposed plan was approved by the Royal Court Chancellery in Vienna, on condition that "rights of third parties are observed." Fast city expansion prompted the second town development plan which was drawn and signed by the municipal engineer Milan Lenuci in 1878, and which became effective in 1889. This plan introduced for the first time a complete sequence of U-shaped or horseshoe-shaped squares (Figs. 2–4).

The street grid principle with right-angle street crossings introduced in the first city development plan of 1865 was continued and largely carried out, extending from the city center toward the east and west. The city council accepted the new Regulation Basis in 1887, and amended it in 1894.¹⁶ Pre-existing roads (access roads and field roads) cut the city blocks in uneven sizes, adapting to the cadastre parcellation. With this clearly thought-out plan, Zagreb entered the 20th century with a clearly envisioned urban plan, laying the foundation of planned urban development of Lower Town, a considerable expansion south of the Medieval-Renaissance historic core (Upper Town).



2 Plan of Zagreb, 1878 (source: Zagreb City Museum)

The Urban Concept of the Horseshoe Park

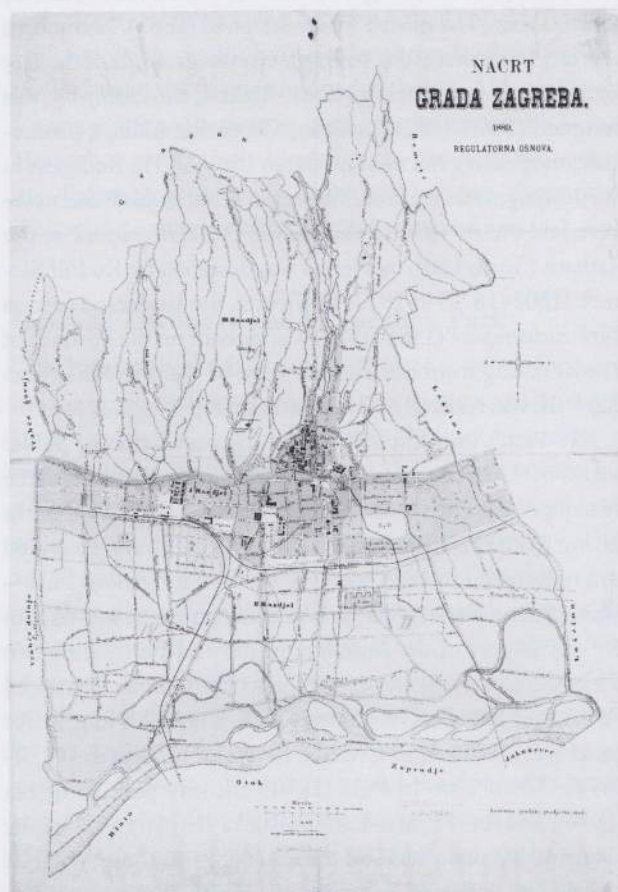
We can discern two periods in the design and development of the Lower Town landscape frame. The first period encompasses the maturation of the idea and begins in the middle of the 19th century, when the city was organized after the union of Gradec, Kaptol with the surrounding settlements. The second period is marked by the gradual layout of individual squares for various reasons and with the cooperation of numerous people. The second period dates from 1882, when the concept of the Park was finally formed and the uninterrupted sequence of squares and public gardens was envisioned as framing the Lower Town, the city center of the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

The idea of the Lower Town landscape frame cannot be attributed to a single author, just as the layout and formation of individual squares cannot be limited to a single person. Milan Lenuci was responsible for the urban planning concept of the whole endeavour, as well as for the preservation of the unity of the landscaped sequence. Many others contributed to the concept and layout of individual parts



3 Zagreb Regulatory Basis, 1887, plan fragment (source: Zagreb City Museum)

4 Zagreb Regulatory Basis, 1889 (source: Zagreb City Museum)



and details. The squares were never conceived to the last detail, but were expanded and complemented in the process of their design. However, they remained true to the initial idea. Some of the squares changed through time owing to alterations and expansions.

The preparations for the realization of the Horseshoe Park began in the 1880s: the actual work took place in the 1890s. The 1887 plan only reserved the space for the monumental sequence of public park-squares and a botanical garden. The horseshoe was to separate the center of the city, which was planned as a residential area, from the industrial parts of the city, where the railway station was situated (locomotives of the time created thick smoke). The monumental dimensions of the landscape frame provided considerable possibilities for the incorporation of public and cultural institutions of local and national importance.

A master plan of the Horseshoe Park was never made, nor was there any urban development plan to determine its content and morphological details (detailed purpose and urban-architectural design), budget costs, organizational implementation scheme, etc., as it had been made in the cases of the Ringstrasse in Vienna and Andr ssy Avenue in Budapest. No urban planning or architectural competition was ever held for the Horseshoe Park or any of its parts (squares). As a rule, municipal decisions made about the building of the capital's cultural and administrative build-

ings served as incentives for the layout of specific parts of the generally conceived whole. Projects of particular parts were most often entrusted to the City Construction Office, run by Milan Lenuci from 1892 to 1913.¹⁷

People Credited with the Formation of Horseshoe Park

The Horseshoe Park is a collective endeavor of many different people, of several generations, different styles, and cultural leanings. The only person to have kept the works true to the initial idea of the landscape frame from the point of view of urban planning of the Lower Town was Milan Lenuci, who held the position of main municipal engineer (head of the City Construction Office).¹⁸ Some consider him the most important Zagreb urban planner of all time. He oversaw the entire endeavour, and made several projects for individual squares, none of which was ever realised. He made four versions of the University Square in 1882, a project for the Academy Square in 1884, and three projects for the West Park (today Mažuranić and Marulić Squares) in 1901, 1903 and 1906.

Several people are responsible for the development and layout of the Horseshoe Park, each of whom contributed to the creation of the Horseshoe and Lower Town in their own way. Rupert Melkus¹⁹ was head of the City Construction Office before Lenuci. In 1870 he made a project of the regulation of Zrinjevac Square, which marked the beginning of the formation of the Horseshoe Park. Based on that urban plan, Viennese landscape architect Rudolph Siebeck²⁰ made a garden design in 1873, altered by later gardeners—Josip Peklar²¹ and Franjo Jeržabek.²² Vitěslav Durchánek²³ designed and carried out the Botanical Garden. Through the course of intensive development of the Lower Town landscape frame Izidor Kršnjavi²⁴ served as Minister of Culture and Adolf Mošinski²⁵ as Mayor of Zagreb, both of whom contributed to the layout. In his two-decades-long mandate as Ban, Karlo-Dragutin Khuen-Héderváry²⁶ played a major role in discussions and decisions concerning general issues of urban development of Zagreb, specifically in the formation of the Lower Town landscape frame.

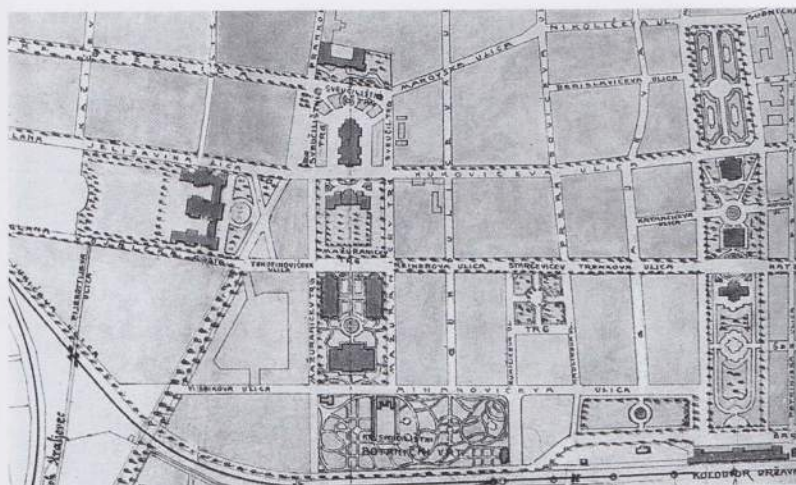
The Horseshoe Park Compared to European Public City Parks

In the second half of the 19th century, in the time of the conception and gradual development of the Horseshoe Park in Zagreb, there are many more instances of renovations, redesigns and expansions of existing Parks than of newly built parks. In contrast, Croatian and other European smaller cities preferred building new parks modelled on parks in major

European cities. Several new parks considered to be important contributions to landscape art were built in that period. Two prime examples of Romantic parks were built in Paris—*Parc des Buttes Chaumont* (1863), which replaced a former garbage dump (designers: Jean-Charles-Adolphe Alphand and Jean-Pierre Barillet-Deschamps), and *Parc Montsouris* (1870, designer: Alphand). A prime example of landscape design of the second half of the 19th century is *Sefton Park* in Liverpool (1866, designer: Édouard François André).²⁷

Many parks and promenades were carried out in the Austrian-Hungarian Monarchy. Practically every city and larger settlement had a laid-out promenade or public park, either newly built, an expansion, or a redesign of a pre-existing park. Originally Neo-Classical Biedermeier-style parks from the first half of the 19th century, as unkempt parks were redesigned at the time. The landscape fashion of the first half of the 19th century was predominantly Romantic, a style that lasted until the end of the said century, particularly in the Imperial and Royal Monarchy. In 1863, two great and relevant Viennese parks were expanded, namely *Stadtpark* and *Volksgarten*. The Budapest Városliget was redesigned and expanded (a Zoological Park was extended in 1866, redesigned in 1885) and Margaret Island was renovated (1869). In Bratislava (Slovakia) *Augarten* was renovated (1868) and in Linz, Austria, *Volksgarten* was redesigned (1885). Numerous new city parks were also realized. On the grounds of the city fortifications and glacis in Graz, Austria, the *Stadtpark* was designed (1869–1872). In Brno, Czech Republic, a promenade on *Spielberg* hill was laid out in 1861, and in Budapest in 1870 *Népliget* was realized. *Gebirgspark* and *Aupark-Sternallee* were laid out in 1870 in Bratislava. The *Rathauspark* at the Rathaus (Town Hall) in Vienna was designed by Rudolf Siebeck (1802–1879) in 1872. In Vienna, the landscape garden *Türkenschanzpark* (1885–1889) was laid out on the grounds of a moat dating from the Turkish siege of Vienna (1683). Jordan Park was realized in Krakow in 1888.²⁸

It wasn't until the 1860s that the realization of public parks in Croatia intensified, peaking in the last three decades of the 19th century. The two most significant parks dating from the 1860s are the city park in Split (renovated and redesigned in 1861) and the first public park in Pula—Maximilian's Park (1863) was laid out in the south part of the city as part of the Austrian military harbor. These two parks were carried out before the world-famous Liverpool *Sefton Park* and the Graz *Stadtpark*. In the 1870s four major parks were realized in Croatia: *Zrinjevac* in Zagreb (1870–1878); *Monte Zaro* in Pula (1870); the city park in Rijeka (1874); and the Theater Park in Rijeka (1875). In Zadar the Coast promenade was laid out in 1868, and the city got its second city park—*Blažeković Park* (1888). Many city prom-



5 Zagreb Regulatory Basis, 1913, plan fragment (source: Zagreb City Museum)

enades were laid out, such as *Marjan* in Split (1884) and *Marie Valerie promenade* in Karlovac (1886).²⁹

The most relevant project undertaken in the 1880s in Croatia was the layout of the squares forming the Lenuci Horseshoe in Zagreb. This sequence of parks is comparable to similar designs of sequences of parks carried out in Central European cities on the locations Medieval and Renaissance fortifications, for example in Vienna, Prague, Brno, Krakow, Sofia, Riga and other cities. However, the Lenuci Horseshoe Park sequence was not built on the grounds of old fortifications, as were the aforementioned examples. Also, unlike the Viennese Ring (*Ringstrasse*), public buildings of the Lenuci Horseshoe were mostly located in the center of the squares (e.g. Palace of the Academy of Sciences and Arts, the national theater, the university library, and the art pavilion).

Gradual Layout of the Horseshoe Park

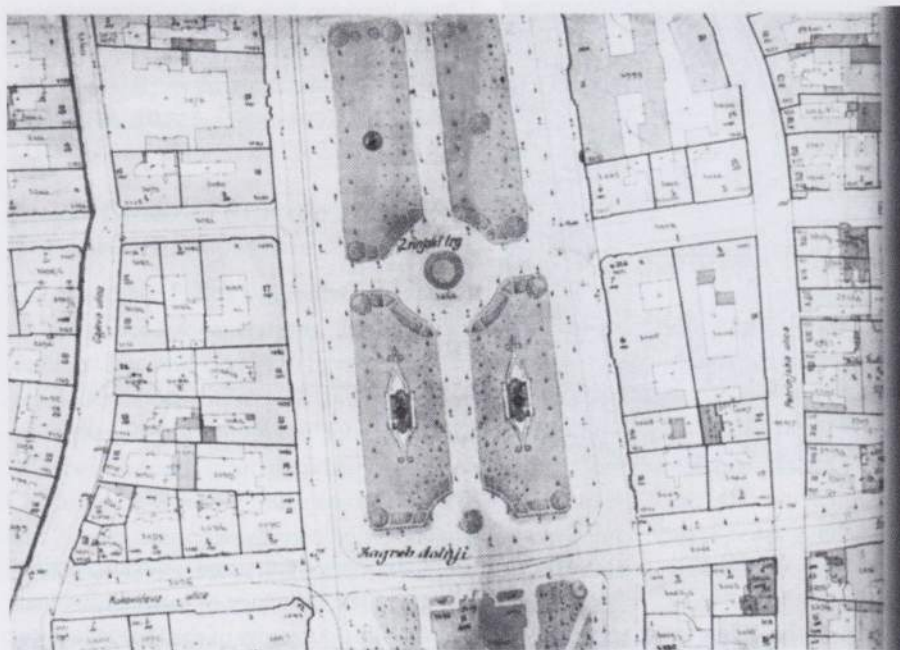
The Horseshoe Park is an example of a wholesome and unique urban analysis of the city. It is a specimen of landscape architecture, building and shaping the city regardless of changes in its horticultural design. In such a concept it is impossible to discern or separate urban planning from landscape architecture or architecture from urban planning. They are all mutually intertwined. It was precisely the clear vision in urban planning that provided a good result, despite the nonexistence of a master plan of the Horseshoe Park sequence. There was a clear urban concept which ensured the safety and stability of the project. The gradual nature of the layout, disparity of stylistic design, long duration of the construction, various authors and approaches—none of these factors diminished its value as the preliminary design of the Horseshoe, because the landscape frame did not suffer any substantial changes.

Due to a comparatively long time of construction, shortage of funding and the influence of many individuals and political decisions, the uniformity of the Horseshoe was never achieved. Not that it mattered much, because the Lenuci Horseshoe is a first-class cultural, historical, architectural (urban, architectural, and landscape) monument of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. It is characteristic of an age of urban utopianism defined by belief in Harmony and Beauty, based on an idealization of the City.³⁰

The creation of the Horseshoe Park was initiated spontaneously before the entire Horseshoe was planned, when the city council reached the decision to turn what was until then a cattle market into a square in order to raise a monument to Nikola Šubić Zrinski. This represented the beginning of a project whose realization would take half a century to reach completion. The Horseshoe Park, as a sequence of parks and squares, was first included in the general urban plan that came into force in 1889. Since then it was gradually developed, project were made, sometimes even several versions of a single project. It was very difficult to select which design to carry out. World War I ended before the landscape frame was finished. Work on it continued in the Interwar Period in the 1920s and 1930s. Despite some deviations, the construction maintained the continuity and largely stayed true to the preliminary idea of an uninterrupted sequence of parks and squares.

The Horseshoe Park

What follows is a review of the development of the individual parks composing the Horseshoe, as well as of the Horseshoe Park as a whole. The order follows either the chronology of the designs or the preparation of project documentation (Fig. 5).



6 Zrinjevac, cadastral map, 1913
(source: Zagreb State Archive)

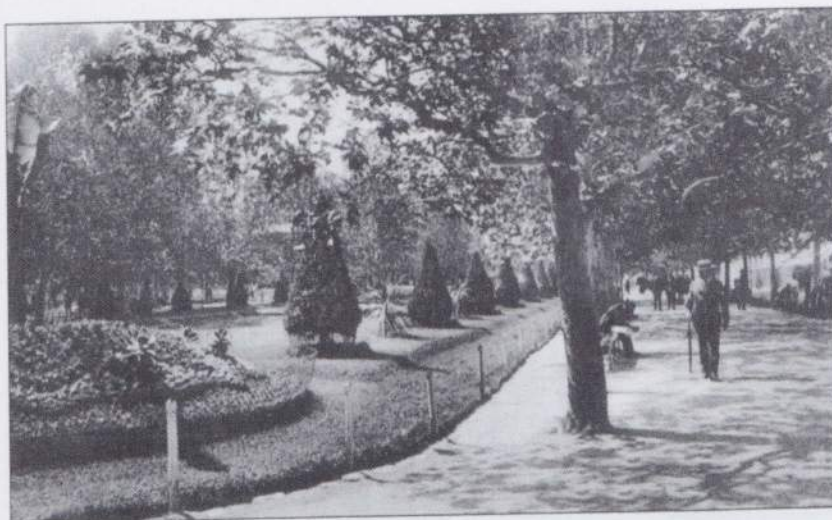
Nikola Šubić Zrinski Square—Zrinjevac Square

Zrinjevac is the first in line of the Lenuci Horseshoe Squares (Figs. 6–8). It was formed before the Lower Town was built or the landscape frame was even conceived, on what was later to become its Eastern starting point. The decision to remodel it into a square was reached in 1869, following an initiative of the enlightened bourgeoisie (especially rich citizens—merchants and entrepreneurs) eager not only for new investments but also for new cultural frameworks. The author of the design for Zrinski Square was the city engi-

neer Ruert Melkus (1870). The project entailed the technical engineering proposal of the previously unregulated lot (the silting and leveling of the ground, the drainage system, the rerouting of the surrounding streets, the organization of pavements and sidewalks, planting of the flanking alleys and prearrangement of the central surface of the square for the future park). The 2.74 ha surface of the square was divided into four rectangular fields. Inner and outer promenades were lined with sycamore alleys (imported from Udine, Italy). In 1872 the central surface garden design was

7 Zrinjevac, view from the Palace of the Academy, 1904 (source: National and University Library in Zagreb)



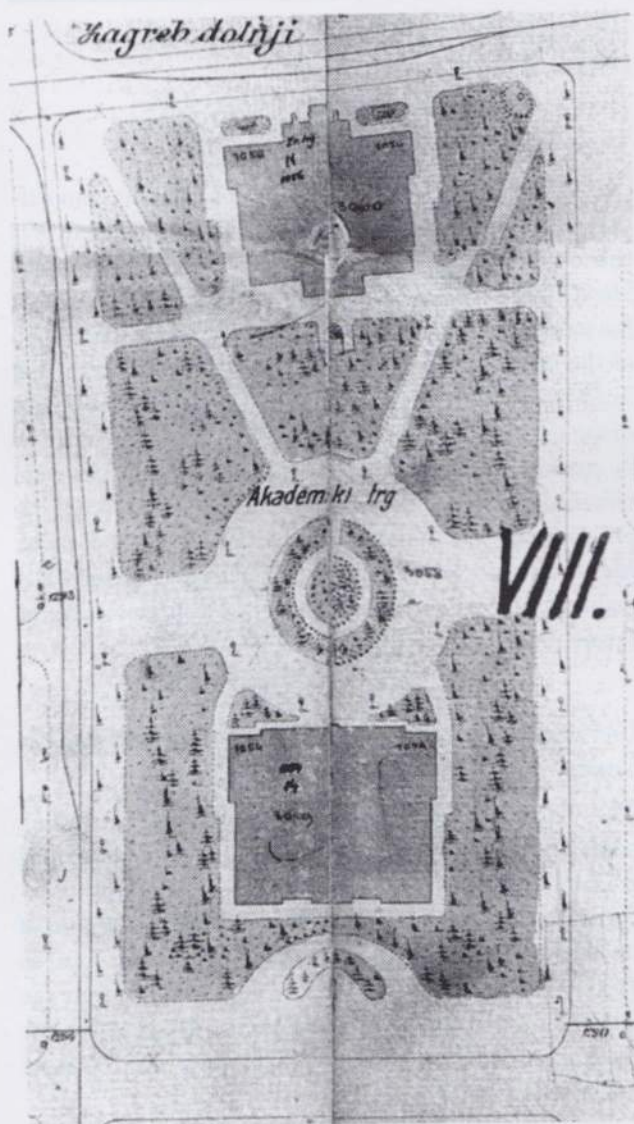


8 Zrinjevac, view from the north, 1909
(source: National and University Library in Zagreb)

entrusted to Dr. Rudolph Siebeck, director of Vienna city parks. The park was open for the public in the summer of 1873. At the time no buildings had been built around it. In the following two decades vegetation and the garden design were altered. The last change occurred in 1891 when a metal music pavilion was erected in the middle of the square, which stands there to this day.³¹

Academy Square (today Josip Juraj Strossmayer Square)

This square belongs to the Eastern arm of the Lenuci Horseshoe, and is situated next to the Zrinski Square, with a surface of 2.33 hectares (Figs. 9, 10). Its rectangular shape is a product of the orthogonal street network, laid out in the first general urban plan of Zagreb dating from 1865. The Academy of Sciences and Arts is situated on the northern front of the square (the Neo-Renaissance project was designed in 1877 by the Viennese architect Friedrich von Schmidt). The layout of the park was begun in 1883, and is credited to the City Construction Office and Josip Peklar. The ground plan of the park is a small, prominent circular square situated on a crossroads. In its center, a statue of St. George on horseback was erected: the work of the Viennese sculptor Anton Dominik Fernkorn. The statue was relocated from Maksimir Park. After the death of bishop Josip Juraj Strossmayer in 1905, a monument in his honor was considered. After a lengthy debate concerning the location of the monument, a decision was made to place it in the Academy Square. The most comprehensive concept of the monument and layout of the Academy Square was presented in 1909 by the architect Viktor Kovačić, a student of Otto Wagner. His design was eventually dropped and in 1914 a competition was announced, only to be disrupted by



9 University Square, cadastral map, 1913 (source: Zagreb State Archive)



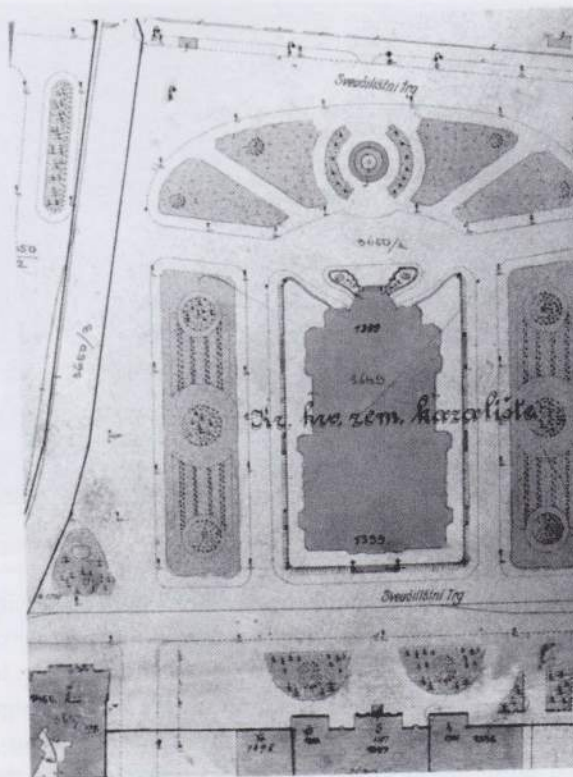
10 University Square and West Park, 1927 (source: National and University Library in Zagreb)

the beginning of World War I. After the War, the competition was cancelled and the creation of the monument was entrusted to sculptor Ivan Meštrović. He collaborated with Harald Bilinić and in 1925 proposed a complete redesign of the square. He placed the monument on the northern third of the square, with his back turned to the Palace of the Academy. Busts were planned to be placed on the both sides of the monument, and the entrances to the square were to be marked by obelisks. Trees planted on its edges were trimmed. However, their project was not realized. Of the project, only the monument was erected, around which Meštrović's idea of a grand paved square was but partially realized. The earlier circular element disappeared, but the square retained its garden features.³²

University Square—the Theater Square (today Marshal Tito Square)

The University Square represents the Western starting point of the Horseshoe Park (Figs. 11, 12). It developed gradually, and work on it predated the second Zagreb development plan. A significant incentive for the realisation of the square came in 1882, when the building of the Tobacco Factory (initially a hospital, built 1869–1879) became the seat of the University, which remains there to this day. The Square was called the Fair until 1890, when it was changed to University Square.

The decision to build a theater on the square was of the utmost importance for its permanent design. The Neo-



11 Academy Square, cadastral map, 1913 (Zagreb State Archive)

Baroque theater was designed in 1894 by the Viennese architects Herman Helmer and Ferdinand Fellner. The theater was opened on October 14, 1895, on the occasion of the visit of Austrian-Hungarian emperor and Croatian king, Franz Joseph I, to Zagreb.

University Square became the first architectural square within the Horseshoe Park. It differs considerably from the squares of the Eastern arm of the landscape frame. The square was primarily inspired by grand historicist complexes in Vienna and Budapest from the second half of the 19th century. The square not only became a new cultural center, but a strong urban focus that would accelerate the building of the western part of the city to the Rail Station (the first railway station in Zagreb, today's West Station), as well as the realization of the remaining parts of the Horseshoe. University Square became the eastern point of the new Avenue, which was rerouted in 1882 and was laid out as the western access to the city.

The design of the square was made by the City Construction Office. At its very beginnings in 1882, four drafts for the design of the square were made by Milan Lenuci.



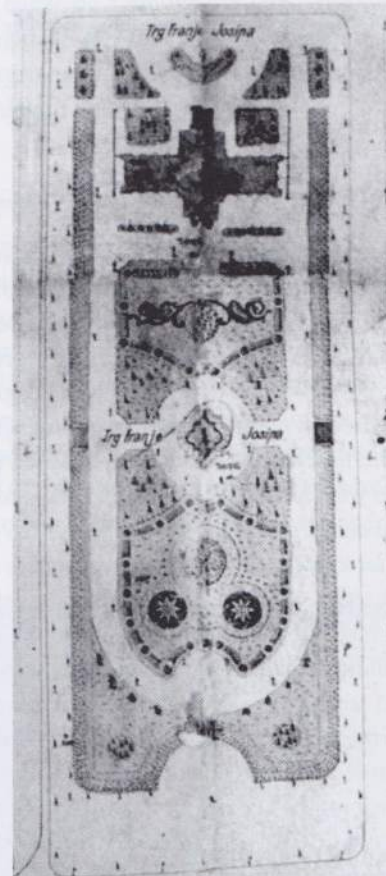
12 Academy Square, around 1900
(source: National and University Library in Zagreb)

These were Lenuci's first projects for the Lower Town landscape frame. But the square does not owe its appearance to this design. Buildings were gradually built around it and the square formed little by little until it covered a surface of 2.25 hectares. The free-standing theater was built in the center of the square, with facades on all four sides and surrounded by a promenade with *Teppichgärtnerei* (flowerbeds). The gardener Franjo Jeržabek selected the vegetation on the University Square, which differed from the vegetation on Zrinjevac—it was decidedly more decorative and lavish in color.³³

King Tomislav Square (previously King Francis Joseph I. Square)

The new railway station became the endpoint of the eastern arm of the Horseshoe (Figs. 13–15). The Station had an important role in the urban plan of Zagreb—the city began on and reached to the Main Station. It was positioned so as to, on exiting the building, it offered a lovely view of the square, the old part of the city with the cathedral towers and Medvednica in the background.

The square was named after the Austrian emperor and Croatian king Franz Joseph I on the occasion of his visit in 1895. For that occasion the garden in the square was temporarily laid out. A detailed and permanent layout was initiated by the building of the Art Pavilion on the northern point of the square. The pavilion representing the Kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia was built for the Millennial Exhibition in Budapest in 1896 to the designs of Budapest architects Floris Korba and Kalman Giergl, on condition that the building be moved to Zagreb after the Exhibition, as was later done.



13 Franz Joseph I Square (today King Tomislav Square), cadastral map, 1913
(source: Zagreb State Archive)



14 Franz Joseph I Park, beginning of the 20th century (source: Croatian State Archive)

15 Franz Joseph I Park, view of the railway station, beginning of the 20th century (source: Croatian State Archive)



The garden design was done in 1897. The layout was completed in autumn 1898, the same year the Art Pavilion was opened for the public. The square soon became the people's favourite. It is arguably the most representative space of Zagreb urban identity. All relevant Zagreb architects were invited to design buildings on the square. The square was the first complete and only realised project of Milan Lenuci within the Lower Town landscape frame. It was fashioned on the model of a blend of a garden (*Schmuckplatz*, park (*Gartenplatz*) and architectural square (*Architekturplatz*). The square is on a lower level than the surrounding streets and is reached by stairways.

The buildings surrounding the square were built between 1891 and 1904. In 1904 a competition was held for the design of the stairways leading into the square. The first prize was awarded to the design of architect Viktor Kovačić. The commission/jury for the evaluation of works in the competition did not recommend any of the designs from the competition, despite the awarded first prize, but proposed a combination of elements from several designs.

After World War I, the Franz Joseph I Square was renamed Square I, and in 1927 it was named after Tomislav, the first Croatian king, following the millennial anniversary of the Croatian Kingdom (Tomislav united North Croatia (Pannonia) and South Croatia (Dalmatia), thus becoming

the first Croatian king). In 1927, Robert Franges Mihanović was commissioned to make a statue of king Tomislav. The statue was not placed in the Square until 1947. To this day the statue of the horseman is one of the most familiar vistas, and is often pictured on Zagreb postcards.³⁴

South Park (today Ante Starčević Square)

In the city's urban plan, the south arm of the Horseshoe Park (north of the railroad) was commonly referred to as the South Park (Fig. 16). The second urban development plan of Zagreb, of 1887, reserved the west part of the south arm for a botanical garden, whereas its eastern part, called South Park, was named Ante Starčević Square in 1928. The Square received its final contours with the making of a detailed landscape plan for the new railway station. The South Park and the Botanical Garden were separated by a street (today Miramarska Street).

The South Park had only one (north) architectural façade, formed by a row of palaces (today Antun Mihanović Street). The railroad was located to the south, the botanical garden to the west, and the Franz Joseph I Square spread to the east. Buildings along the north edge of the South Park also served as the southern border of Lower Town. The square was laid out in 1903 to the design of the city gar-



16 South Park (Starčević Square) and King Tomislav Square, after 1927 (source: Zagreb City Museum)

dener, Franjo Jeržabek. Its ground plan is 200 meters long: a circular path cuts the Square into two parts, approximately at the center. Trees were planted on its edges, and a grass parterre with flower beds was at the center.

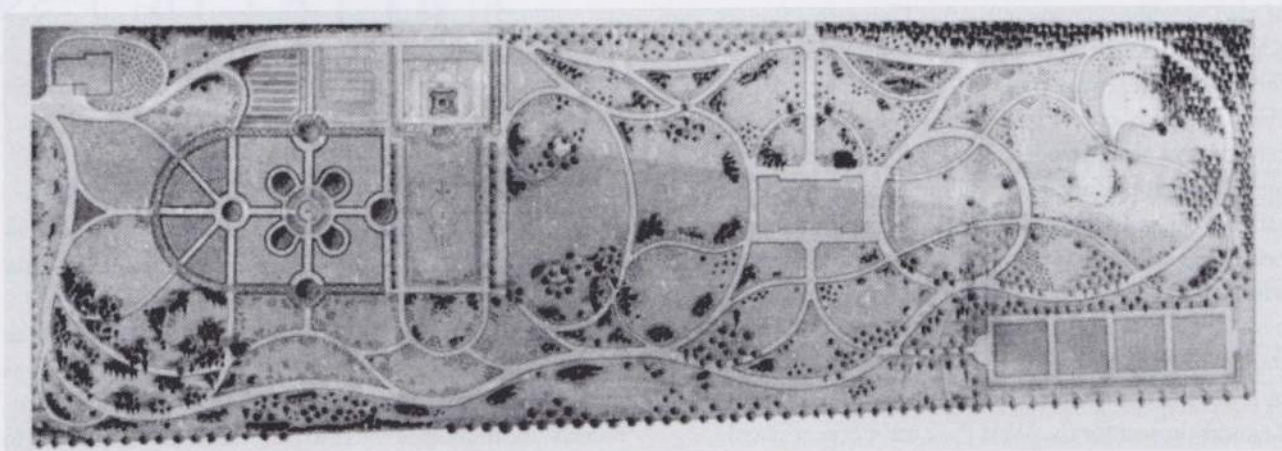
South Park received more attention after World War I. After 1900 a part of the South Park was considered as a possible location for a hotel. The 1920 urban development plan for the area surrounding the railway station reduced the surface of the Park in order to make place for two buildings. The west part of the South Park was planned as the location of the Social Security building (built in 1928) and Hotel Esplanade (built in 1925). The hotel was realized according to the design by the architect Dionis Sunko. The first prize in the competition was won by Otto Rehnig from Berlin, and Adolf Loos was one of the participants in the competition. Consequently, of the initial South Park only its eastern part remains, next to the Railway Station and the already-realized Franz Joseph I Square. The 0.84 hectares big Square was renamed in 1928 as Ante Starčević Square. It was renovated the same year by Franjo Jeržabek. It had a very simple ground plan: there was an elliptical plateau in its center, and was surrounded by trees. Eight rays spread from

the center radially in the orthogonal and diagonal axes of the rectangular square.

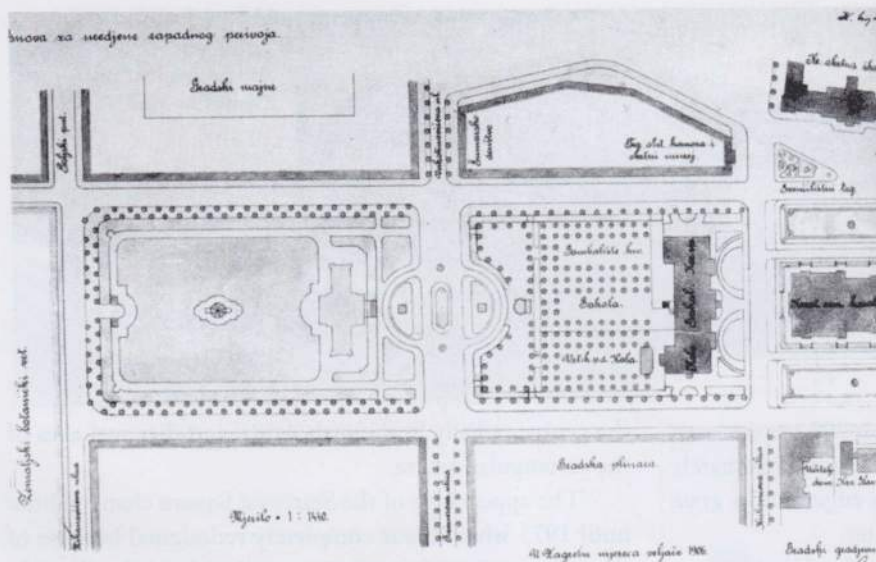
The appearance of the Starčević Square changed little until 1973 when it was completely redesigned because of the construction of a pedestrian underpass under the railroad, whereby it lost its historical appearance. In 1993 construction began on a multistoried underground garage and a shopping mall. The new square was laid out on the roof of the underground building, and its design is a paraphrase of the 1928 design.³⁵

The Botanical Garden

The first mention of idea of the Botanical Garden in Zagreb dates back to 1876. The City Council chose a plot on the west end of South Park as the location of the garden, within the Lenuci Horseshoe (Fig. 17). The plot of land, with a surface of 3.85 hectares, was decided upon as the location of the Botanical Garden and added in the second Zagreb urban development plan (1887). The foundation of the Botanical Garden is largely owing to Dr. Antun Heinz, who encouraged the foundation of the garden and who designed



17 Botanical Garden, blueprint, 1889 (source: Botanical Garden, Zagreb)



18 West Park, layout plan, not carried out, author Milan Lenuci, 1906 (source: Zagreb State Archive)

19 Situation plan of the University Library, author Rudolf Lubynski, 1910 (source: Zagreb State Archive)

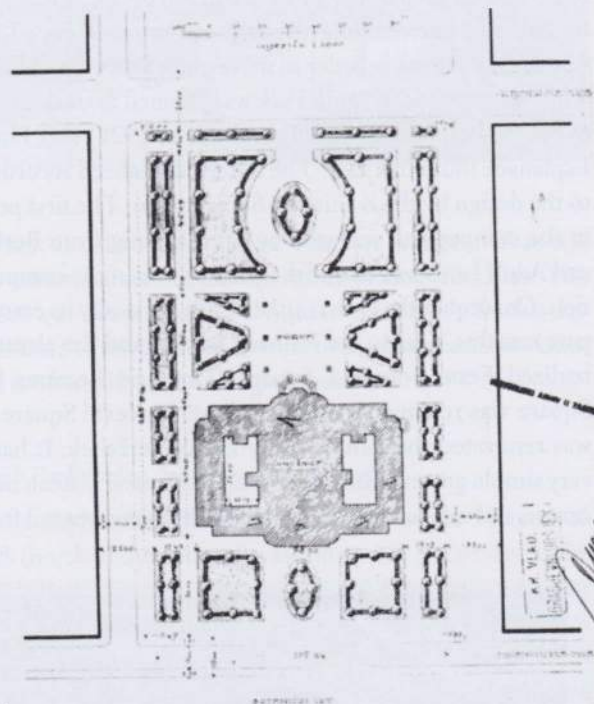
it in 1880 with principal gardener Vitěslav Dürchánek. The Gardener's Lodge (today the administrative building of the Botanical Garden) was built in 1890. Work on the garden itself began in 1891 and the first planting in 1892 (1,100 different plant species were planted).

The original blueprint of the Botanical Garden is kept in its administrative building. The Botanical Garden is the only one of the Lenuci Horseshoe Squares developed as a landscape. The flower beds in front of the greenhouses were the only elements developed in an historicist style with an orthogonal layout. The Garden is the only part of the Lenuci Horseshoe separated by a fence from the adjoining squares.³⁶

West Park (today Marko Marulić Square and Mažuranić Square)

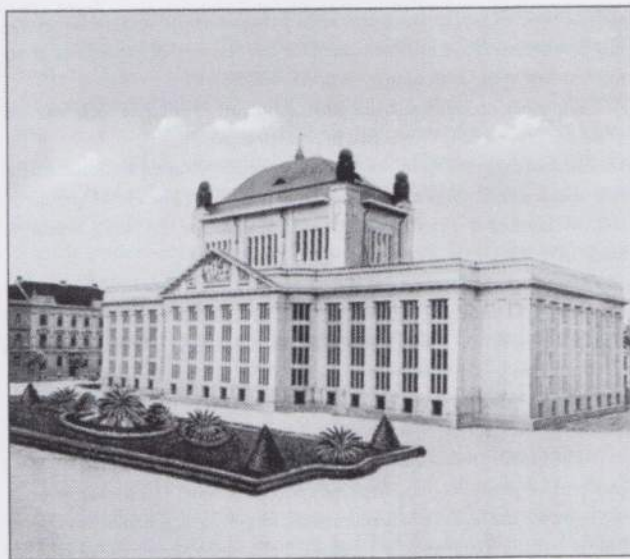
The design of the West Park was initiated by the realization of two neighboring squares—the University Square and Khuen-Héderváry Square (today Roosevelt Square, west of the Horseshoe Park) (Figs. 18–20). The first plan of the West Park was drawn by Milan Lenuci in 1901. He conceived it as a park intended for sports. The south part was to include a skating rink in the winter, and sufficient space for various games. In the middle of the skating rink there would be a pavilion. The skating rink was to be on lower ground compared to the surrounding streets. The north part was to have a summer training field, which was built in 1892. Even though these two substantially different wholes were divided by a street, Lenuci saw them as a single park. However, Lenuci's project for the West Park was never realized.

The north part of the park, with a surface of 2.29 hectares, was laid out in 1905 (since 1909 it is called Mažuranić



Square. It was later redesigned in 1913 and changed very little to this day (the *gombalište*, or training field, was later turned into a children's playground that still exists today).

Considerable change was made in the south part of the West Park on a surface of 2.98 hectares (in 1928 it was renamed Marko Marulić Square. On request by the government, the city allotted the land planned for the West Park to have new, representative cultural content, namely the University, University institutes, and the University Library.



20 National and University Library, north façade, 1915 (source: National and University Library in Zagreb)

In February 1909 competition for the University Library building was announced. The design of the architect Rudolf Lubynski was selected in 1910 and after minor adjustments and retouches of the project, construction began in the spring of 1911. The Library was finished in the summer of 1913. According to Lubynski's design, the south part of West Park was intended to include the library and a square. The library building was placed in the south part of the square, its main façade facing north toward the city and the University building that was to be situated on the north part of West Park, but was never carried out. Lubynski imagined a park surrounding the library, with a square in front of the library entrance, which he called Forum.

The final design of Marulić Square began soon after the completion of the library in 1913. On the Square north of the library, University institutes were built as part of the Government's program of buildings of national importance. According to the program, the east arm of the Lenuci Horseshoe was to be dedicated to Art and Culture (including the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, and the Art Pavilion) while the west arm was to be dedicated to Sciences and Education (the University and the University Library).³⁷

Conclusion

Even though Zagreb was a planned town from its beginnings, after its medieval phase, it started its planned system-

atic spreading and development, only from the middle of the 19th century. Until then, Zagreb was a small town, still within its Medieval-Renaissance limits (today's Upper Town), spreading on the periphery along access roads. The first written urban regulations dated from 1857, the first urban plan, of 1864–1865, and the second urban plan, of 1887–1889, laid out a planned orthogonal street grid and the construction of rectangular city blocks/insulae in the new 19th century City (Lower Town). The vision of the urban structure of the Lower Town introduced two distinctive topics: public city parks and squares with public buildings (a theater, the Academy of Sciences and the Arts, the Art Pavilion and the railway station, national and university library and the university). The 1889 urban development plan first introduced a U- or horseshoe-shaped system of parks and squares. This sequence of landscaped squares, better known as the Lenuci Horseshoe, became the most important urban planning projects in Croatia in the 1880s and 1890s. Seven parks functioning as squares, or seven squares designed as parks, along with a botanical garden, became a recognizable motif of the Zagreb urban structure of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. This achievement of urban planning, architecture and landscape architecture is considered a valuable accomplishment of the turn of the century in Zagreb and in Croatia.

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Notes

1. This research is part of the scientific project *Heritage Urbanism: Urban and Spatial Planning Models for Revival and Enhancement of Cultural Heritage* (2032) financed by the Croatian Science Foundation, which is being carried out at the Faculty of Architecture, University of Zagreb, under the project leadership of prof.dr.sc. Mladen Obad Šćitaroci [www.scitaroci.hr]. See www.arhitekt.unizg.hr/znanost/HERU/default.aspx
2. Nikola Šubić Zrinski (1508–1566) was a famous person from Croatian history, Ban of Croatia, and a war hero from battles against Turks. The City Council decided to name the Square was after him in 1866 (planned but not laid out at the time) on the occasion of the 300th anniversary of his death. This signified the beginning of the formation of the Horseshoe Park.
3. Josip Juraj Strossmayer (1815–1905)—bishop, theologian, politician, one

of the most influential Croats in the 19th century. He founded the Academy of Sciences and Arts in Zagreb whose construction on the south edge of the Zrinjski Square Shaped another square within the east arm of the Horseshoe Park—The Academy Square, later renamed after Strossmayer.

4. King Tomislav was the first Croatian king, crowned in 925. Franz Joseph I of Austria (1830–1916) was an Austrian emperor and Croatian-Hungarian king.

5. Ante Starčević (1823–1896)—Croatian politician, publicist and writer, advocate of Croatian independence, he is considered the founding father of the modern Croatian state.

6. Marko Marulić / Marcus Marulus Spalatensis (1450–1524)—Renaissance writer and poet, considered the founding father of Croatian literature, author of the first work of Croatian literature in the national language.

7. The Square is named after Ban of Croatia, poet and philologist Ivan Mažuranić (1814–1890), and his brothers Antun and Vladimir, who left their mark in Croatian cultural, scientific, and political life.

8. Josip Broz Tito (1892–1980)—president of Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (1945–1980), Croat, born in Kumrovec (Croatian Zagorje).

9. Zagreb had about 5,000 inhabitants in 1750, 9,136 in 1819, and by the middle of the 19th century around 15,000 inhabitants.

10. Maksimilijan Vrhovac (1752–1827), Zagreb bishop from 1787 to 1827, a prominent member of the Enlightenment in Croatia, a promoter of European trends in landscape architecture of his time. Apart from Maksimir Park, he is also credited for the layout of the Bishop's Garden in Vlaška Street in Zagreb, for the construction of the spa and park in Stubičke Toplice near Zagreb and the enhancement of the park of the Golubovec manor in Donja Stubica.

For more on this topic, see Bojana Bojanić Obad Šćitaroci, Mladen Obad Šćitaroci. *Gradski perivoji Hrvatske u 19. stoljeću—javna perivojna arhitektura hrvatskih gradova u europskom kontekstu* (Public parks and gardens of Croatian towns in the century in the European context). Zagreb. 2004; Mladen Obad Šćitaroci, Bojana Bojanić Obad Šćitaroci. "Perivojna ostvarenja biskupa Maksimilijana Vrhovca u kontekstu europskog perivojnog stvaralaštva kraja 18. i početka 19. stoljeća" (Bishop Maksimilijan Vrhovac's garden achievements in the context of European garden creation at the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century), *Biskup Maksimilijan Vrhovac i njegovo djelo* (conference proceeding), 2006. 155–170. ISBN 953-6040-28-X.

11. Maksimir was not finished in Maksimilijan Vrhovac's Baroque-Neoclassicist era, but by Juraj Haulik de Várallya (1788–1869) early in his bishopcy in 1837. The author of the Park is unknown, it is speculated that Haulik himself was responsible for the main concept of the Park in the spirit of Romantic landscape art. He decided to entrust his idea to experienced Austrian artists proven on their work on Imperial and Royal parks. He met them in Laxemburg where they were had just completed the Romantic landscape redesign of the Imperial Baroque Park. The leader of the group of artists was Michael Riedel. The remaining artists were Franz Schücht, Leopold Philipp, Franjo Serafin Körbler, Joseph Käschmann, Anton Dominik Fernkorn, Anton Kothgasser, and the young architect Bartol Felbinger, who was to remain in Zagreb.

For more on this topic, see Bojana Bojanić Obad Šćitaroci, Mladen Obad Šćitaroci. 2004. Work cited in note 10 above; Mladen Obad Šćitaroci. "Maksimir: A Romantic Episcopal Park in Zagreb—Croatia," *Journal of Garden History* 14, no. 2 (1994): 119–32; *Encyclopedia of Gardens—History and Design II* (ed. Candice A. Shoemaker). Chicago/London. 2001. 843–44; Andrej Žmegač. "Vrhovčev i Haulikov Maksimir" (Vrhovac's and Haulik's Maksimir). *Prostor* 10, no. 2 (2002): 169–78.

12. Numerous private gardens belonging to villas were designed and carried out in the immediate vicinity of the medieval Gradec (Upper Town). For more on this topic, see articles by Michael Kunitsch, contributor to *Allge-*

meine Deutsche Gartenzeitung printed in Frauendorf (Bavaria) in Germany. His descriptions are a reliable source for the research of garden design in the first half of the 19th century in northwest Croatia.

For more on this topic, see Bojana Bojanić Obad Šćitaroci, Mladen Obad Šćitaroci. 2004. Work cited in note 10 above.

13. For more on this topic, see Dražen Arbutina. "Razvoj kaptolskog vrta Ribnjaka u Zagrebu i planovi za uređenje perivoja" (The Development of Ribnjak Garden in Kaptol, Zagreb, and designs for the park). *Prostor* 4, no. 2(12) (1996): 253–70.

14. The South promenade was the first public city promenade in Zagreb. Opened in 1813 on the location of the southern hillside under the medieval-renaissance walls of Gradec (Upper Town). The layout was encouraged by Croatian Ban Ignjat Gyulay and his wife Julija. Voluntary donations were collected in order to finance the layout of the promenade, and the action was led by the City Magistrate.

The North promenade was built between 1839 and 1845 on the north-east part of medieval-renaissance Gradec city walls (Upper Town). An incentive for the layout of the promenade was given by the then postmaster Matija Pallain. He managed to build the promenade on the previously untended area with his own money and voluntary donations. He also founded a society for the maintenance of promenades (*Verein der Nord-Promenade*), which organized the collection of voluntary donations.

For more on this topic, see Bojana Bojanić Obad Šćitaroci, Mladen Obad Šćitaroci. 2004. Work cited in note 10 above.

15. Works on the promenade called Avenue, today Gjuro Deželić Street, began in 1882 with the intention to lay out the west entrance into the city and connect the railway station (today West Station) and the University Square (Theatre Square). Tuškanac is one of Zagreb's favourite and unique forest promenades. By rebuilding Josipovac (western part of Tuškanac) as a cottage settlement in the 1880s the Tuškanac forest gradually became a promenade. In lower Tuškanac a promenade was opened in 1883, called Sophie's path (in honour of the wife of Croatian Ban Josip Jelačić, today Dubravka's path). For more on this topic, see Bojana Bojanić Obad Šćitaroci, Mladen Obad Šćitaroci. 2004. Work cited in note 10 above.

16. According to the 1894 Building Regulation, the very city center of Zagreb prescribed the building of at least three-storeys and the standardization of the height of the buildings to avoid unfavorable views of gables and siding walls, determined the height of the building according to street width, prescribed the smallest possible size of inner courtyards, etc.

17. For more on this topic, see Snješka Knežević. *Zagrebačka zelena potkova* (Zagreb Green Horseshoe). Zagreb. 1996; *Stadtparks in der Österreichischen Monarchie 1765–1918: Studien zur Bürgerlichen Entwicklung des Urbanen Grüns in Österreich, Ungarn, Kroatien, Slowenien und Krakau aus Europäischer Perspektive* (ed. Géza Hajós). Wien-Köln-Weimar. 2007. ISBN 978-3-205-77638-3.

18. Milan Lenuci (1849–1924) laid the foundations of urban development of Zagreb of the 20th century. Inspired by great urban accomplishments in Vienna and Paris, he planned numerous visionary projects such as relocation of the railway from the city centre, creation of a city avenue, a new industrial zone in Zagreb among others. He is best known for the Lower Town landscape frame. For more on this topic, see Snješka Knežević. "Lenuci i Lenucijeva potkova" (Lenuci and Lenuci's Horseshoe), *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti* 18 (1994): 169–89.

19. Rupert Melkus (1833–1891)—after he graduated from the Imperial-Royal Polytechnic Institute in Vienna, he came to Zagreb in 1855, where he first served as city surveyor, and from 1869 as city engineer. He designed the project for the layout of Zrinjevac Square in 1870. Numerous Zagreb arbored streets were carried out under his supervision. In Zagreb he designed the Tobacco Factory in Vjekoslav Klaić Street, and several schools.

For more on this topic, see Snješka Knežević. *Zagrebačka zelena potkova*, work cited in note 17 above; *Stadtparks in der Österreichischen Monarchie 1765–1918*, work cited in note 17 above.

20. Rudolph Siebeck (1812–1878), a German-Austrian landscape architect and theoretician of landscape. He was director of Vienna city parks, and author of one of the competition designs for the Vienna *Stadtpark*, author of several books. He made a garden design (*Teppichgärten*) for Zrinjevac Square. The project is lost but it is known that it followed the tradition of French garden design. For more on this topic, see Snješka Knežević. *Zagrebačka zelena potkova*, work cited in note 17 above.

21. Josip Peklár (1837–1911)—gardener, received his apprenticeship first in Schleinitz Castle, then in the Imperial and Royal Gardens in Reichstadt and the University Botanical garden in Prague. He received his specialization working as gardener in France and Belgium. He designed gardens for Count Brandis, Count Vetter and minister Tisza, as well as at the 1873 Vienna World Exhibition. He worked as city gardener in Zagreb from 1878 to 1892. His most important projects in Zagreb were Josipovac Park and its annexation to the Tuškanac forest park, the redesign of the Zrinjevac Square garden (originally Siebeck's project), and The Academy Square. For more on this topic, see Snješka Knežević. *Zagrebačka zelena potkova*, work cited in note 17 above; Tea Helman. "Doprinos gradskog vrtlara Josipa Peklara vrtnome i parkovnom oblikovanju Zagreba 1878–1895" (The contribution of the city gardener Josip Peklár to garden and park layout in Zagreb in 1878–1895). *Prostor* 2, no. 1–2 (1994): 115–34.

22. Franjo Jeržabek (1862–1935), originally from Galicia, he was elected city gardener in Zagreb in 1892, where he laid out and designed the vegetation of the Lenuci Horseshoe. In 1893 he redesigned the Zrinjevac Square in the French garden style (replacing Siebeck's earlier design). The renovation of Zrinjevac in the 1990s drew on his version of Zrinjevac. He designed the vegetation on other Zagreb squares in the French Neo-Baroque tradition: the University square (today Marshall Tito Square), Franz Joseph I Square (today King Tomislav Square); he laid out the Dragutin Khuen Héderváry Square (today Roosevelt Square) in 1895, and South Park (today Ante Starčević Square) in 1903. For more on this topic, see Snješka Knežević. *Zagrebačka zelena potkova*, work cited in note 17 above; Bojana Bojanić Obad Šćitaroci, Mladen Obad Šćitaroci. 2004. Work cited in note 10 above.

23. Vítěslav Dürchánek (1857–1924)—a Czech gardener, recipient of several prizes, and honorary diplomas. He was elected gardener of the Botanical Garden in a job competition in 1890. He is author of the Zagreb Botanical Garden (1889) and the West Park (1912). For more on this topic, see Ljerka Regula-Bevilacqua. *Botanički vrt*. Zagreb. 1997.

24. Izidor Kršnjavi (1845–1927)—art historian, painter, and cultural worker. He studied art history in Vienna, and painting in Vienna and Munich. Since 1877 he worked as art history and archaeology professor at the University of Zagreb. He encouraged the foundation of the Croatian Art Society (1878), the Crafts School (1882), and the Museum of Arts and Crafts. He served as Croatian Minister of Culture from 1891 to 1896, a time of intensive works on the Lenuci Horseshoe.

25. Adolf Mošinski (1843–1907)—Mayor of Zagreb from 1892 to 1904, in

the reign of Ban Khuen Héderváry, when the largest part of the Lenuci Horseshoe was laid out.

26. Karl-Dragutin Count Khuen-Héderváry de Hédervár (1849–1918)—Hungarian politician, Ban of Croatia from 1883 to 1903, Hungarian Prime Minister before World War I. The people rejected his rigid pro-Hungarian politics and under the pressure of the national movement in Croatia he was forced to step down as Ban.

27. For more on this topic, see Bojana Bojanić Obad Šćitaroci, Mladen Obad Šćitaroci. 2004. Work cited in note 10 above; *Stadtparks in der Österreichischen Monarchie 1765–1918*, work cited in note 17 above; Mladen Obad Šćitaroci, Bojana Bojanić Obad Šćitaroci. "Public Parks in Croatia in the 19th Century within a European Context." *Annales, Series Historia et Sociologia* 24, no. 1 (2014): 95–112.

28. Idem.

29. Idem.

30. Art historian Snješka Knežević has conducted research of archival documentation and the development of the Horseshoe Park for many years. She is author of numerous papers. The footnotes enumerate her most relevant recent work.

31. For more on this topic, see Snješka Knežević. "Mjesto Zrinskog trga u genezi zagrebačke Zelene potkove" (Place of the Zrinjevac Square in the Genesis of the Zagreb Green Horseshoe). *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti* 11 (1988): 61–93; Bojana Bojanić Obad Šćitaroci, Mladen Obad Šćitaroci. 2004. Work cited in note 10 above; Snješka Knežević. *Zagrebačka zelena potkova*, work cited in note 17 above; Snješka Knežević. *Zrinjevac 1873–1993—u spomen stovadesete obljetnice zrinjevačkog perivoja* (Zrinjevac 1873–1993—in memory of the 120th Anniversary of Zrinjevac Square), Zagreb, 1993.

32. For more on this topic, see Snješka Knežević. "Akademijina palača i njeni trgovi" (Palace of the Academy and its Squares). *Bulletin razreda za likovne umjetnosti HAZU* 1 (1994): 35–46; Snješka Knežević. *Zagrebačka zelena potkova*, work cited in note 17 above; Bojana Bojanić Obad Šćitaroci, Mladen Obad Šćitaroci. 2004. Work cited in note 10 above;

33. For more on this topic, see Snješka Knežević. "Geneza Trga maršala Tita i Zelena potkova u Zagrebu" (Genesis of the Marshal Tito Square and the Zagreb Green Horseshoe). *Godišnjak zaštite spomenika kulture Hrvatske* 14/15 (1988/9): 111–49; Snješka Knežević. *Zagrebačka zelena potkova*, work cited in note 17 above; Bojana Bojanić Obad Šćitaroci, Mladen Obad Šćitaroci. 2004. Work cited in note 10 above;

34. For more on this topic, see Snješka Knežević. *Zagrebačka zelena potkova*, work cited in note 17 above; Bojana Bojanić Obad Šćitaroci, Mladen Obad Šćitaroci. 2004. Work cited in note 10 above.

35. Idem.

36. For more on this topic, see Snješka Knežević. *Zagrebačka zelena potkova*, work cited in note 17 above; Bojana Bojanić Obad Šćitaroci, Mladen Obad Šćitaroci. 2004. Work cited in note 10 above; Ljerka Regula-Bevilacqua. Work cited in note 23 above.

37. For more on this topic, see Snješka Knežević. *Zagrebačka zelena potkova*, work cited in note 17 above; Bojana Bojanić Obad Šćitaroci, Mladen Obad Šćitaroci. 2004. Work cited in note 10 above.

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